DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.68/731

SEE 130- Hagiperos, Vasilios FOR Despatch # 1615

FROM Greece (Shantz) DATED April 10,1937
NAME

TO ///

REGARDING: Compulsory registration as Greek subjects of naturalized American citizens born in Turkey.

Further efforts to secure recognition of American citizenship would be unavailing. Concise statement in "Notice to Bearers of Passports" should warn American citizens of Greek race of difficulties in ciitizenship and military status if they remain in Greece longer than six months.

mm

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, May 31, 1937.

No. 1699.

Subject: Visit of the Turkish Premier.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1937 JUN 11 AM 11 00
ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S
OF STATE

For distribution ... to the State ... In M. I. A.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 17 1937
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

767.68/732

767.68

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Prime Minister of Turkey, General Ismet Inönü, arrived in Athens May 24th on his way home from the Coronation in London, and was received with enthusiasm by the Greek authorities. He and his party were met at the station by a representative of the King, the Prime Minister in person, several Generals, and other high officials of the Greek State, including Mr. Mavroudis, Under-Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Ministers of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Turkey were also present. The train was very late owing to floods in

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia and northern Greece, where the track was washed out and several bridges collapsed, but the lateness of the arrival did not diminish the enthusiasm of the reception. I am informed that similar welcomes were accorded General Inönü at Salonika and along the route to Athens, particularly at Larissa, where detachments of the Greek army were lined up for his inspection. The Athens' press profited by the occasion to print eulogies of Turkey and of General Inönü himself, whose mild attitude during the negotiations for the Lausanne Treaty was recalled with satisfaction. To the press representatives, the Turkish Premier expressed his gratitude for the friendly reception accorded him and for the manifestations of the Greek people. He also expressed the hope that he might be received in audience by the King.

Later, at a dinner given in honor of the Turkish Premier, Mr. Metaxas, Premier of Greece, addressed him in part as follows:(I translate from the French of the Messager d'Athènes, semi-official foreign language organ of the Hellenic Foreign office)

> Your presence among us, my dear President, has given the occasion for another striking manifestation of Turco-Greek friendship, friendship founded upon the ideal of peace, on mutual understanding, and on our common interests.
>
> The Greek people do not forget that you have had faith in this rapprochement, of which you were one of the most convinced partisans and one of the principal authors, and to the realization of which you have devoted all your energies and your great political talents.
>
> You come to add a new bond to our alliance, the conclusion of which has marked a decisive step in the history of our two countries, and the moral force of which resides in the pacific aims which it pursues. The alliance is the more solid because it is not the work solely of our governments, but entirely expresses the profound sentiments of our
>
> peoples.

Is it necessary to emphasize the signal support which our alliance affords to the organization of security, if one remembers that it greatly facilitated the conclusion of the Balkan Pact, that instrument of peace, the value of which is shown by the harmony and calm which it has introduced into this region, formerly so troubled?

Finally, must we reiterate the belief that as the Balkan Entente is not directed against anyone, our four states may uninterruptedly pursue their pacific efforts, by encouraging the good will which from time to time may manifest itself, with a view to enlarging and completing the collaboration and accord among all the people of the Balkans?

In the course of the friendly conversations which we have today enjoyed, we have examined all the questions of interest as well to our two countries, as to the Balkan Entente, and we have been able to establish the perfect identity of our own views as well as the close solidarity existing among our four States.

I retain of these talks, my dear President - permit me to call you dear friend - a lively remembrance. The desire which I have cherished for so long to enter into personal relations with you has been happily realized. Nor do I forget the eminent qualities which distinguish you personally, and you may be well assured that in listening to you I have felt how well justified is the appellation "sage" which is given you.

I raise my glass to the health of the President of the Turkish Republic, His Excellency Kemal Ataturk, to the grandeur and to the prosperity of the noble Turkish nation, friend and ally, to your personal welfare, Mr. President and dear friend, and to that of your genial wife.

To this toast the Turkish Premier replied in part as follows:

Mr. President, the struggles which for centuries have existed between the Turkish and Greek nations have been transformed into definite friendship and into a solid and indestructible cooperation. It affords me great pleasure, Mr. President, to tell you that the entente cordiale which exists between us has always maintained its force and value.

The Balkan Entente, which is a pact binding together the four states in an ideal of peace and in the security of their frontiers, has become, in an important area of Europe, an organization for peace the more solid from the fact that, as you have pointed out, it is directed against no one and remains always open to a liberal and pacific collaboration of the Balkan States.

I consider it useful to declare solemnly at this meeting that the absence of skepticism on the part of outsiders as to the solidarity of the Balkan Entente constitutes a correct understanding which favors peace.

My dear President and friend, we have examined in detail with Your Excellency the relations between our two States and the international questions coming within the sphere of our concern. The breadth and acumen of Your Excellency's views, which I have long admired, and the manifestations of a character which expresses the ideas of an open mind with a clarity which inspires confidence, have bound me even more firmly to Your Excellency.

Amid this high society it is my happy privilege to evoke with great admiration the great name of His Majesty the King as the fundamental basis of the friendly and allied relations of our two countries.

The important work, material and moral, which His Majesty has been able to accomplish in his beloved country in the course of a relatively short time, as well as his interest and the serious endeavors which he has undertaken in behalf of peace in the international domain, are eminently worthy of being regarded with a feeling of respect.

I raise my glass to the health of His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, George II, to the grandeur and the prosperity of the noble Greek nation, a friend and ally, and to your personal welfare, Mr. President and friend, and to that of your charming wife.

During the dinner General Inönü received the following communications by telephone from the President of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk:

> I have been informed that you are found at this moment surrounded by friendship and fraternity. It is impossible for me to express how much I envy you in learning that you find yourself in the midst of the distinguished society and representatives of a nation with which our entente will be eternal. I beg you to express the sentiments of friendship which fill my heart. Salutations to my friends.

* * * * *

> The frontiers of the allied Balkan states constitute a single frontier. Those who may have designs on this frontier expose themselves to the burning rays of the sun and I advise them to be careful. Established upon this basis, Balkan friendship will increase in scope, and in this consists its humanitarian and civilizing aims.

The latter communication is given by the Greek press in bold type.

To

To the President's messages Mr. Metaxas replied telephonically as follows:

> The message of the President of the Turkish Republic has been read aloud to those here present. The representatives of the Army, Navy and Air Service of Greece who are present express their immense joy and enthusiasm for the words of His Excellency, the President of the Turkish Republic, which fully correspond with our Hellenic feelings and with the profound and inalterable friendship which the Hellenic nation cherishes for its sister Nation.
>
> In your statement that "the frontiers of our Balkan states form only one frontier" you have given form to a truth which was the basis of all our efforts and of all our thoughts during the years when we collaborated to form the Balkan Entente. It is an expression so happy and so full of truth that there is no one in our respective States who does not feel it in his heart.

To the above the President of the Turkish Republic replied immediately:

> I am happy to make known to you that I take the greatest pleasure, both as a man and a soldier, in declaring to you that our frontiers are the same and that the forces which defend them are equally one and inseparable.

Mr. Metaxas terminated the conversation as follows:

> We are completely and always in accord.

****

The importance of these interchanges need not be emphasized in view of what the Department already knows about what General Inönü refers to as the "skepticism of outsiders as to the solidarity of the Balkan Entente." As regards the position of Greece in particular, and in connection with the fact that General Inönü came from London via Belgrade to Athens, I may refer to my despatch No. 1578 of March 17, 1937, particularly the part dealing with the views of my British colleague. The picture of

740.0011 Mutual Guarantee/
Balkans/171

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a British-supported Balkan Entente is rounding out.

Before leaving Athens the Turkish Premier was received in audience by the King, and he departed leaving many people feeling much more secure in regard to a country for which its diplomacy is, in a very real degree, its first line of defence.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Copy to American Embassy, Istanbul.

File No. 710.

LMacV/jr/pe

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, June 8, 1937.

No. 1709.

Subject: Visit of the Turkish Premier.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 1 1937
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 31 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.68/733

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

767.68/732

Supplementing my despatch No. 1699 of May 31, 1937, I have the honor to report that since General Ismet Inönü had a long talk with Premier Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia during the former's train journey through that country on his way to visit Athens, I consulted my Yugoslavian colleague here as to his understanding of the reasons for that visit. Mr. Christitch, who is dean of the Diplomatic Corps here and an able diplomat, slated soon to be Minister to Italy, replied that it was his information that the visit was made at the special request of General Metaxas and that the invitation

was

was accepted with the knowledge and advice of London. In regard to the extraordinary telephonic message of Kemal Atatürk, reported in my despatch under reference, Mr. Christitch mentioned a military demonstration or review held in Philippopolis some time ago, at which a bicycle corps of the Bulgarian army openly flaunted placards featuring the names not only of Kavalla, Serres, Drama, Dedeagatch, etc., but also of Adrianople and other Turkish towns, and remarked that he understood that this incident had made Kemal furious and that it was the direct cause of his outburst, which however he characteristically coordinated with Ismet's movements and calculated to the precise moment when it would have the most effect.

767.74

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh

Lincoln MacVeagh.

File No. 710.

LMacV/pe

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1937 NOV 16 PM 3 07

AMERICAN EMBASSY

COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

Ankara, Turkey,

October 27, 1937.

No. 387

Subject: Visit of the Greek Prime Minister, General Metaxas, to Ankara.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to M. I. D. - Confidential.
" to O. N. I. - "

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
NOV 22 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 17 1937
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Greek Prime Minister, General Metaxas, made an official visit to Turkey from October 18th to October 22nd. Accompanied by Madame Metaxas, the Turkish Minister to Greece, and several Greek officials, he arrived at Istanbul on the Cruiser AVEROF on the afternoon of October 17 and departed the same evening for Ankara, where he arrived early the following morning. During the three days which

767.68/734

which he spent in Ankara General Metaxas attended official receptions and exchanged the usual calls required by protocol. He had a two and one-half hours conversation with President Atatürk, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, being present. Among his other calls was one on General Ismet Inönü, who was still Prime Minister in name though officially on vacation. Upon his return to Istanbul, on the morning of October 22nd, the visiting statesman placed a wreath at the foot of the monument of the Republic, visited the museums, and also paid a visit to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who stated that he was happy that "having come to Turkey to see the progress which our country has made under the inspiration of its grand Chief, Atatürk, and after having visited our beautiful country and Ankara, you have thought to visit also the Patriarch".

The visit of General Metaxas to Ankara was made the occasion for many affirmations of Turkish-Greek friendship. A chance observer would have deduced from the speeches and the press comments that Greece and Turkey had been allies for generations. A phrase, which is generally attributed to General Metaxas, - "the two armies are one" - was quoted with enthusiasm in all the Turkish newspapers. Reference was also made to the message which Atatürk telephoned to Athens when his Prime Minister, Ismet Inönü, was dining with General Metaxas on May 26th last. Atatürk then said "the Balkan frontiers of the Allied Balkan States form one single frontier. Those who raise their eyes towards these frontiers expose themselves to the burning rays of the sun. I advise them to beware.....". To

General

General Metaxas he at the same time sent a special message saying "I am happy to declare to you that I received the liveliest pleasure as a man and as a soldier in declaring that we have the same frontiers and that our forces when called to their defense form a single inseparable force". The Turkish Acting Prime Minister, Celal Bayar, developing this theme in an address at one of the banquets given in honor of the Greek Prime Minister, stated that Turkish-Greek friendship is based, not only on common feelings, but also on mutual interests and the common manner of thinking between the two countries. He said "the Balkans, with a population of sixty millions, represents one entity and a very harmonious unity". General Metaxas stated to a newspaper correspondent, upon his return to Istanbul:

> "I leave your country persuaded that the Turkish-Greek alliance is today stronger than ever. This alliance is not solely the work of our two governments but constitutes equally the expression of the sentiments of the Turkish and Greek peoples respectively. Turkey and Greece, fortified by the adhesion of the other two members of the Balkan Entente - Yugoslavia and Rumania -, constitute a force whose rôle is preponderant in European affairs and in the ideal of peace, which is the primary aim of our entente".

The official communique issued by the Anatolian Agency, - of which a copy of the official French version and an English translation are enclosed, - states that the statesmen of the two friendly and allied countries discussed international relations in general and also questions of direct interest to the two countries. It says that they decided to continue to follow the policies and to uphold the ideals of the Balkan Entente.

1/, 2/

One of the few references made during the visit to the past differences between Turkey and Greece was in an editorial of the daily newspaper KURUN, where it was pointed out that General Metaxas had always manifested sympathy for Turkey, that he was at the head of those who disapproved of the Greeks landing at Izmir, that during the Anatolian campaign he never ceased to profess the same views, and that the facts have shown that he was right.

3/, 4/ There are enclosed herewith French versions, released by the Anatolian Agency, of the addresses delivered by the Turkish Acting Prime Minister and the Greek Prime Minister, respectively, at a banquet in Ankara on

5/ October 19, as well as a copy of an editorial regarding the visit of General Metaxas, which appeared on October 21, in the ANKARA, the weekly French edition of the Turkish daily ULUS. The article was signed by Falih Rifki Atay, who is very close to the President of the Turkish Republic.

Respectfully yours,

Robert F. Kelley

Robert F. Kelley,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:

1/ - Official communique of October 22, 1937 (French version);
2/ - English translation;
3/ - Speech of Celal Bayar, Acting Prime Minister;
4/ - Speech of General Metaxas, Greek Prime Minister;
5/ - Editorial from ANKARA of October 21, 1937.

Copies sent to Athens, Sofia, Belgrade and Bucharest.

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4 Carbon Copies
Received

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 307 of October 27, 1937, from the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.

COPY

ISTANBUL of October 22, 1937.

(Communiqué Officiel)

Ankara, 21. A. A.- Communiqué officiel:

Lors de sa visite à Ankara, S. E. M. Metaxas, président du Conseil hellénique a été reçu par le Président de la République turque K. Atatürk et a eu de longs et amicaux entretiens avev Djelal Bayar, président du Conseil intérimaire et le ministre des Affaires étrangères, le Dr. Aras.

Au cours de leurs entrevues les hommes d'Etat des deux pays amis et alliés ont procédé à un examen détaillé tant des questions internationales que de celles intéressant directement leur pays et ont eu l'occasion de voir à nouveau avec une vive satisfaction l'heureux développement de leurs relations amicales et internationales.

Constatant une nouvelle fois leur attachement au pacte d'Entente balkanique dont le développement s'est avéré éminemment utile à la cause de la paix générale, ils ont décidé de continuer cette politique en tous points conforme à l'idéal poursuivi par les deux pays et à leurs intérêts communs.

Les hommes d'Etat des deux pays amis et alliés ont vu avec le plus vif plaisir la parfaite concordance qui existe entre la politique internationale suivie par la Grèce et la Turquie et ont constaté une fois de plus que le pacte d'Entente cordiale qui les unit répond entièrement aux exigences de leurs relations sincères et amicales.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 307 of October 27, 1937, from the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.

TRANSLATION

ISTANBUL of October 22, 1937.
(Official Communiqué)

During his visit to Ankara His Excellency, M. Metaxas, Greek Prime Minister, has been received by the President of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, and has had long and friendly interviews with Celal Bayar, Prime Minister ad interim, and Dr. Aras, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In the course of their talks the statesmen of the two friendly and allied countries have made a detailed examination of international questions as those of direct interest to their countries and have had an occasion to see again with lively satisfaction the happy development of their friendly international relations.

Pledging again their devotion to the pact of the Balkan Entente whose development has been found eminently useful to the cause of general peace, they have decided to continue this policy which conforms in every way to the ideal followed by the two countries and to their common interests.

The statesmen of the two friendly and allied countries have seen with the liveliest pleasure the perfect agreement which exists in the international policies followed by Greece and Turkey and have determined once again that the Entente Cordial which unites them satisfies entirely the exigencies of their sincere and friendly relations.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 387 of October 27, 1937, from the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.

ANKARA of October 21, 1937.

DISCOURS DE M. CELAL BAYAR

Voici le texte du discours que M. Celal Bayar, président du conseil intérimaire, a prononcé à ce banquet :

Monsieur le Président,

C'est avec le plus profond plaisir que je souhaite la bienvenue à l'éminent chef du gouvernement de Sa Majesté le roi des Hellènes et salue en sa personne la noble nation grecque amie et alliée.

Votre Excellence a dû certainement constater dès son entrée dans nos territoires la vive joie unanime que produit sa visite cordiale en Turquie, visite que le peuple turc et le gouvernement de la République considèrent comme une nouvelle manifestation de l'intangible amitié turco-hellène, basée non seulement sur une parfaite communion de sentiments et de coeurs, mais aussi sur une communauté de vues et une profonde compréhension des intérêts réciproques.

Or, on ne peut considérer une amitié plus solide entre les nations que celle se basant sur des intérêts et des vues identiques tendant à un idéal commun.

A une époque où de graves inquiétudes pèsent sur l'humanité et où les tentatives pour un meilleur avenir se dispersent en vains efforts, nous pouvons être justement fiers de la réalisation entre nos deux nations d'une amitié inébranlable.

En collaboration étroite avec nos amis et alliés de l'Entente Balkanique, par une gradation lente et ménagée, avec persévérance et courage, nous avons élevé en commun dans une région connue pour ses intempéries et ses troubles un édifice de paix et de sécurité immuable.

Une étendue de territoires couvrant presque tous les Balkans et une masse de 60 millions d'habitants offrent actuellement au monde entier le spectacle d'un ensemble des plus cohérent et des plus harmonieux.

Cette réalisation splendide peut servir d'exemple à tous ceux qui sont à la recherche d'une destinée meilleure et montrer en même temps où la bonne volonté et l'esprit d'entente peuvent conduire les nations. Ainsi cet exemple peut réconforter les citoyens turcs et hellènes en leur apportant une preuve nouvelle de l'opportunité et de la réalité de l'amitié qui règne entre nos deux nations.

Imprégnés de l'idée que de tous les facteurs de prospérité et de bonheur le plus décisif est la paix, nous nous sommes résolument engagés dans cette politique de paix et d'entente.

Votre Excellence, qui n'a jamais cessé d'apporter le concours de son autorité et de sa ferveur au développement des liens indissolubles qui unissent nos deux nations et qui récemment encore, par ses belles paroles aux représentants de la presse turque à souligné le caractère de ces liens. marque par sa visite à Ankara une phase éclatante de cette amitié qu progresse sur un rythme harmonieux et continu.

Aussi c'est dans cette atmosphère de fête et dans la joie dont la visite de Votre Excellence remplit nos coeurs que je lève mon verre à la santé de son auguste souverain, Sa Majesté le roi des Hellènes, à la prospérité de la nation grecque amie et alliée, au bonheur de l'éminent chef de gouvernement et à celui de son épouse gracieuse. nos distingués hôtes de ce soir.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 397 of October 27, 1937, from the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.

ANKARA of October 21, 1937.

DISCOURS DE M. METAXAS

Le chef du gouvernement hellène S. E. M. Métaxas a répondu à M. Celal Bayar par l'allocution suivante :

Monsieur le Président,

L'accueil chaleureux dont j'ai été l'objet depuis mon arrivée et les marques de sympathies prodiguées à mon égard m'ont profondement touché. Les paroles empreintes de cordialité que Votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser et qui sont l'expression des sentiments d'amitié de la noble nation turque envers mon pays trouveront en Grèce un écho ému. Je vous en remercie très vivement tant en mon nom personnel qu'en celui du gouvernement royal et de tous mes compatriotes dont je suis certain d'être le fidèle interprète en vous assurant de leur attachement et de leur foi inébranlable en notre pacte d'amitié et d'alliance.

Je suis particulièrement heureux de l'occasion qui m'a été offerte de visiter votre beau pays et sa moderne capitale. Je n'ignorais certes pas les immenses progrès réalisés en Turquie en un laps de temps si court, mais j'éprouve de la difficulté à exprimer mon sentiment d'admiration pour l'oeuvre prodigieuse en train de s'accomplir sous l'impulsion inspirée du grand créateur que le peuple turc a le bonheur d'avoir pour chef vénéré avec l'assistance d'éminents collaborateurs.

Le visiteur de la nouvelle Turquie reste émerveillé devant le saisissant spectacle d'une forte et valeureuse nation en plein rendement de travail constructif. Il est à peine besoin de vous dire combien la Grèce, en alliée loyale, se réjouit de l'essor magnifique de la Turquie amie.

L'entente cordiale inaugurée il y a quelques années entre nos deux nations, qui ont su arracher de leur coeur les rancunes du passé pour faire place à un idéal de paix et de fraternité s'affermit de jour en jour. Ce fut pour moi une des plus grandes satisfactions que puisse éprouver un homme politique que de voir un de mes désirs les plus anciens et les plus chers, celui du rapprochement gréco-turc, se transformer en une vibrante réalité.

Notre alliance, qui marque une étape décisive dans notre histoire commune, constitue un des événements politiques les plus remarquables dans la période d'après-guerre et peut être donnée en exemple aux peuples aspirant à la paix.

L'esprit de loyauté et de franchise qui a caractérisé notre collaboration de plus en plus étroite à créé l'atmosphère propice à l'élargissement de cette oeuvre de paix. C'est ainsi que notre alliance a été le précurseur de l'Entente Balkanique. Les quatre nations qui la forment, unies par la communauté d'intérêts et les mêmes aspirations pacifiques en lesquelles réside la force morale de leur union, peuvent s'enorgueillir d'avoir transformé la péninsule balkanique, considérée jadis comme un foyer permanent de trouble en une zone de paix et de sécurité parmi les plus sûres qui soient en Europe. Les espérances qu'avaient fondées en elle nos peuples sont pleinement réalisées. Dans le domaine international, les quatre Etats de l'Entente Balkanique apparaissent comme un ensemble mû par une volonté unique, issue de la confiance qui préside à leurs relations réciproques.

Monsieur le Président,

Il m'est une grande joie de constater aujourd'hui une fois de plus combien les liens qui unissent nos deux nations sont puissants et indéfectibles. Je donne toutes mes forces au resserrement de ces liens et c'est pour moi un grand réconfort de voir le profond intérêt que Sa Majesté le roi, mon auguste souverain, porte à l'accomplissement de cette tâche.

Je suis certain que par le précieux concours de Votre Excellence et de ses éminents collaborateurs, ces liens gagneront chaque jour en force et en éclat.

C'est dans ces sentiments que je lève mon verre à la santé de Son Excellence le Président de la République, le grand Atatürk, à la prospérité de la nation turque amie et alliée, au bonheur de son éminent chef de gouvernement et à celui de sa gracieuse épouse.

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 337 of October 27, 1937, from the American Embassy at Ankara, Turkey.

ANKARA of October 21, 1937

Nos Hôtes Hellènes

S.E. M. Métaxas, président du Conseil de la Grèce amie, ainsi que Madame Métaxas, sont depuis avant hier les hôtes d'Ankara. Qu'il soient les bienvenus.

L'amitié turco-grecque qui, depuis des années, alla toujours s'affermissant a atteint à l'époque de M. Métaxas son maximum de cordialité. «Entre les deux nations il n'y a point de frontière" : ces mots appartiennent à Atatürk, et nous avons entendu M. Métaxas dire : «Les deux armées n'en font qu'une seule". Le sens de ces paroles est que les deux nations sont liées l'une à l'autre par des liens d'indissoluble fraternité. Dans les conditions actuelles de la politique internationale, cette amitié est incontestablement plus précieuse que jamais. Les eaux troubles de la Méditerranée déferlent sur nos côtes. Notre volonté qui est aussi forte que notre amitié, constitue un soulagement pour l'humanite européenne.

S. E. M. Métaxas se trouve depuis le 4 août 1936 à la tête du gouvernment hellénique. M. Metaxas n'est pas seulement un chef de gouvernement. Il est en même temps le fondateur d'un régime, un leader représentant les tendances réelles de la nation hellène, un chef qui préside, dans toute l'acception du terme, aux destinées de son peuple.La nation hellène qui avait perdu en quelques années des leaders qu'on considérait comme irremplaçables a trouvé en la personne de M. Metaxas l'une des sommités de son histoire contemporaine. M.Métaxas a donné au pays troublé la tranquillité, et à la population agitée le calme. Il a mis de l'ordre à l'économie ébranlée et donné un nouvel élan à l'outillage de la défense nationale. La Grèce de M. Métaxas témoigne de la stabilité et du développement. Qui, plus que nous en pourrait se réjouir? Une Grèce stable ordonnée et forte constitue une garantie dans tous les problèmes intéressant les Balkans et la Méditerranée. Chaque succès du gouvernement Métaxas annonçant le renforcement de la Grèce constitue une bonne nouvelle pour l'oninion publique turque.

Il est pour nous un bonheur de saluer sur notre sol le président Métaxas comme un chef qui a donné la prospérité à sa nation et à son pays, un homme d'Etat qui a porté à son apogée l'amitié turco-grecque. Nous espérons que les journées qu'il passera parmi nous renforcera en lui la confiance et l'intérêt que nous savons qu'il porte à notre pays. Entre les deux pays voisins *tout va bien*. Peut-on mieux définir que par ces trois mots une amitié, une alliance et une collaboration sincères ?

FALİH RIFKI ATAY.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, October 29, 1937.

No. 1919.

Subject: The Greek Premier's Visit to Turkey.

1937 NOV 15 PM 1 29

Copy transmitted by The
Commercial Office (A-M/C)
To Ankara
11/30/37

To the Field
In U. S. A.
Embassy, Ankara

767.68/735

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
NOV 30 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 17 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that some days ago the Premier, General Metaxas, paid a visit to Turkey, stopping at Istanbul on his way both to and from the Capital. He arrived in Ankara on the 19th of October at ten o'clock in the morning and was met at the station by the then Premier-pro-tem, Mr. Djelal Bayar, as well as by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Aras. At five o'clock the same day he was received by the Gazi. In the evening Mr. Bayar offered the usual banquet, at which official toasts were exchanged emphasizing Greco-

Turkish

Turkish friendship based, as Mr. Bayar said, "not only on a perfect communion of sentiments and hearts, but also on a common point of view and a profound comprehension of reciprocal interests" (I translate from the French of the Turkish paper Ankara).

The visit has caused, of course, a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm in the Greek press, enthusiasm for Turkey, the Great Friend, and for Mr. Metaxas, the Great Leader. If the official banquet was a love-feast, the whole visit seems to have been an orgy of friendship. Even Mr. Metaxas himself appears to have succumbed to the over-charged atmosphere of brotherly love, giving the following somewhat fatuous statement to the Turkish paper, Haber, (I translate from the French of the Messager d'Athènes the semi-official foreign language organ of the Hellenic Foreign Office): "Some day, with God's help, there will very probably be no frontier between Greece and Turkey and the two peoples will be united. I don't know whether I shall live as long as that, but I envy the Greeks and the Turks who will see that day." The Messager adds that to a Turkish journalist who remarked, "Mr. President, this message is historic, "Mr. Metaxas replied, "For me it is an engagement." The Gazi was understandable when he said that Greece and Turkey have a common frontier(see my despatch No. 1699 of May 31, 1937), but what Mr. Metaxas meant exactly, no one seems to know.

Out of all the welter of flag-waving and hyperbole two things would seem to stand out as worthy of comment; first, the words of Djelal, "comprehension of mutual interests," and, second, the relatively unheralded

visit

visit to Ankara of the Chiefs of Staff of the Balkan Entente which followed immediately on the Greek Premier's reception. General Papagos, the Greek Chief of Staff, arrived there on the 23rd, ostensibly, like his colleagues, to attend the celebration of the Turkish National holiday, which, however, occurs on the 29th. Mutual interests, economic and political, provide the basis of the Greco-Turkish friendship, and this is a strong basis, strong enough to be expressed in military and naval cooperation.

These facts have been known for some time to all the world. Gossip-mongers consequently are wagging their tongues over the question of why the Premier made this particular visit. Some say that he is losing his influence with the King and went to Turkey to have a fuss made over him and thus increase his prestige here. Others that he went to sound out the Gazi on his attitude should England want help against Italy (see my despatch No. 1916 of October 29, 1937). The obvious reasons, namely that Ismet had paid a visit to Athens last spring and that Turkish friendship is worth Greece's systematic cultivation would, however, seem adequate enough.

In Istanbul General Metaxas called on the Ecumenical Patriarch and laid a wreath on the monument of the Republic in Taxim Square. Such Turkish papers as have reached this Legation carry accounts of his visit very similar in tone to the inspired fanfare of the Greek press.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh

Lincoln MacVeagh.

File No. 710 X 030
LMacV/jr

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.63/736

SEE 867.0145/113 FOR #391

FROM Turkey (Kelley) DATED Nov.1, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

736

REGARDING:

Italian, Greek and Turkish interests in the Aegean Sea.

Quotes news item giving statement of General Metaxas, Greek Premier, to the effect that Greek and Turkish interests are predominant and that Italian interests are negligible, and subsequent item denying that statement was made. Istanbul correspondent of the TIMES says that statement was made.

767.68

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/518 FOR despatch #558

FROM Turkey (Kelley) DATED Mar.2, 1938
TO NAME

1—1127 ofo

REGARDING: New Greek-Turkish treaty

Draft of-.

dg

767.68/737

n67.48

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/517 FOR despatch #2142

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Mar.5, 1938

TO NAME

1-1127 ero

REGARDING: Treaty between Turkey and Greece

Conference of Balkan Entente at Ankara approved of an additional -.

dg

767.68/738

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ankara, May 24, 1938.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 JUN 14 PM 3 01
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
JUN 16 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 662

Subject: Visit of Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 15 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

A-M/C
JUN 16 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

TREATY DIVISION
See file
JUN 30 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Mr. Celal Bayar, Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic, accompanied by Dr. T. R. Aras, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and his official suite, left Ankara for Athens on April 24 and arrived at the Greek capital on April 27. This visit constitutes one of a series of three planned by the Turkish Prime Minister to capitals of the Balkan Entente countries. Following his visit to Athens a similar visit was made to Belgrade, and a visit to Bucharest is planned for the coming autumn.

Prior

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FILED
JUL 2 - 1938

Prior to his departure from Ankara, the Prime Minister made the following statement to the press, in explanation and summary of the purposes of his journey:

"With my colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I leave Monday for Athens in order to return the friendly visit of the distinguished Chief of our ally the Hellenic Government, His Excellency General Metaxas, and at the same time to sign the new Turco-Greek Treaty (which was initialed at Ankara) the text of which has already been published.

"I experience a particularly great joy in carrying to His Majesty the King of the Hellenes and to the noble Greek nation the greetings and regards of our great President, and in finding the opportunity thus afforded me to express personally the sincerity of the bonds uniting Turkey with Greece.

"The Greco-Turkish alliance is a happy event, born of the mutual interests of the two countries and corresponding entirely to the sentiments of the two nations. At this time I am overjoyed to recall that I also had a part in the realization of this alliance.

"In 1932 as Minister of National Economy I went to Athens to regulate the commercial relations of the two countries. Profiting from the occasion thus offered, the Government charged me to undertake with the statesmen of Greece an exchange of views relative to the possibility of concluding a treaty of friendship, and I most willingly undertook this task. It was I who proposed to the Greek Government in the name of the

Turkish

Turkish Government the formula for guaranteeing our common frontier.

"This treaty, which was negotiated with the idea--on the part of both the Turkish and Greek Governments--of obtaining the participation of our neighbor Bulgaria, was concluded a short time later between Turkey and Greece.

"The birth of the Balkan Pact constituted an important development in the domain of peace and took place as a result of the visit in Istanbul to our great Chief Atatürk of the late King Alexander, the noble King of our ally in the north of the Balkans, forger of Yugoslav unity, who had just held conversations with His Majesty King Carol II of Rumania, sovereign of another Balkan ally.

"Our new treaty, which will constitute an even stronger bond between Turkey and Greece, today makes closer our friendship which is a visible reality, worthy of the whole world's envy, and which manifests itself as a product of our policy of peace.

"This treaty will be a new and precious document defining the manner of executing the cordial understanding already existing. Our Balkan allies have been informed of the tenor of the new Turco-Greek treaty and have examined it and approved it.

"For these reasons, when going to Athens for the second time and again perceiving the expression of the same policies, I am happy to have the honor and the pleasure of being the messenger of the same unshakeable friendship."

As

As is customary on such occasions, the Turkish press devoted much space to extravagant expressions of friendship for and admiration of "the Sister and allied country", but failed to bring out any essential point not touched upon in the remarks of the Prime Minister.

With regard to the additional treaty which was initialed in Ankara during the course of the recent meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente (despatch No. 558 of March 2, 1938), and which was signed in Athens on April 28 amidst much rejoicing, Yunus Nadi, editor of the Istanbul daily CUMHURIYET, and a personal friend of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, published an editorial in which the following comment was contained:

770.00/518

"What is this additional treaty? It is a new document of great value which emphasizes in still one more way collaboration between the two countries for the protection of mutual Turco-Hellenic rights and interests. It is a document which has already been approved by the two other members of the Balkan Entente, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The conclusion of separate treaties between Greece and Turkey, apart from the Balkan Entente, which assures the maintenance of the status quo in the Balkans, should not be a cause for surprise. This latest document is no more than a complement of the Turco-Greek cordial entente which preceded the Balkan Entente. In the second place, the two neighboring countries through the additional treaty no more than express in a clearer and more complete manner a joint mentality which is typical of the Balkan Entente.....

"The

"The first treaty settling all differences between Turkey and Greece was signed in 1930. In 1933 a new accord was concluded which tended to defend through the happy collaboration of the interested parties the rights and interests of both countries. Later, there was created the Balkan Entente, a more extensive organization seeking to maintain the status quo in the Balkans without, however, interfering with the Turco-Greek rapprochement and, finally, with the latest treaty a special situation which exists between Turkey and Greece has been even further advanced.

"The new treaty which defines the attitude to be adopted by each of the contracting parties in case the other should become the object of non-provoked aggression on the part of a third state provides in general as follows:

"1. Neither of the two contracting parties will, under such circumstances, adopt a hostile attitude toward the other. On the contrary, it will maintain a benevolent neutrality in favor of the other party.

"2. Should one of the allied countries become the object of an act of hostility

"The other will do all in its power to prevent such an eventuality and if, in spite of such efforts, conflict cannot be averted both allies will give serious consideration to discovering the most suitable steps to be taken in the premises.

"The treaty constitutes a real and peaceful alliance and one which should be admired by the world at large.

"The

"The Balkan Entente has accorded its entire approval to this perfection of Turco-Hellenic relations. In fact the Entente itself is imbued with analogous sentiments towards its component states, and it is to be sincerely desired that in the near future the Entente will realize among its several members the progress achieved in Turco-Greek relations. It is our belief that the Balkan Entente will one day become an entity destined to play the rôle of a great power of sixty million inhabitants."

On leaving Athens on April 30, the Turkish statesmen proceeded to Salonika, where they spent two hours in being received by the municipal officials and visiting the house in which Atatürk was born. They arrived in Istanbul on May 2 and continued their journey to the capital on the same day. Before departing for Ankara, however, the Prime Minister summarized his impressions of his visit to Greece in the following words:

"We have carried the salutations and the respects of our Chief and of the Turkish Nation to His Majesty the King of Greece and to the Greek Nation, our friend and ally.

"On this occasion we have confirmed anew, with keen satisfaction, that the two nations are bound by sentiments of the most intimate cordiality.

"At all places within the territory of our friend and ally we have been the object of friendly and cordial demonstrations on the part of all. We carry back with us the same friendship which we took to them.

"We

"We return completely satisfied in the knowledge that our friendship will serve to promote peace.

"Our journey to Greece constitutes a new step forward along the way of the development of brotherly relations in the Balkans, where each day greater progress toward this end is being realized.

"Our nation receives everywhere the affectionate and friendly recognition of which it is worthy.

Respectfully yours,

Robert F. Kelley

Robert F. Kelley,
Chargé d'Affaires a. i.

710/030

JLB/kos/rs

Copy to Legation, Athens.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, Turkey, June 14, 1938.

No. 693

Subject: Turkish Ratification of Greco-Turkish Treaty.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 JUN 29 AM 10 58
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
JUL 2 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 30 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION
To the Field
U. S. A.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-MS
JUL 2 - 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

TREATY DIVISION
JUL 7 - 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.68/740

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Turkish Grand National Assembly unanimously ratified on June 1, 1938, the Turco-Greek Treaty which was signed in Athens on April 27, 1938. The Treaty has not yet been officially published in Turkey: the text, together with a translation, as published in the Turkish press after the treaty was initialed at Ankara on February 28, 1938, was transmitted to the Department as an enclosure to this Embassy's despatch No. 558 of March 2, 1938. There is enclosed herewith a translation of the remarks made by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, before the Grand National Assembly on June 1 when ratification was debated. The address of the Foreign Minister was

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followed

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FILED
JUL 16 1938

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followed by remarks of other deputies, all of whom emphasized the friendship existing between Greece and Turkey.

The new treaty supplements the Greco-Turkish Treaty of Friendship, Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration of October 30, 1930 (see Embassy's despatch No. 1271 of May 20, 1931) and the Greco-Turkish Pact of Cordial Understanding of September 14, 1933 (see Embassy's despatch No. 541 of September 20, 1933). Whereas in the former treaty each country undertakes merely to observe neutrality in the event of an attack upon the other country by a third party, the new treaty envisages the possibility of joint action between the two countries in the event one country is attacked by one or several third parties. While in the Turkish-Greek Pact of Cordial Understanding of September 14, 1933, the two countries mutually guarantee the inviolability of their common frontiers, the new treaty extends in effect this guarantee to the other frontiers of the two countries. The two earlier treaties were undoubtedly directed against Bulgaria as the principal threat to the peace of the two countries, even though assurances were always given to the Bulgarians that the signing of the treaties was not intended as an unfriendly act to their country. The new treaty, however, is broader in scope and is apparently designed to make clear to any country contemplating aggression against either Greece or Turkey that it must consider the probability of having to face both of them. While it

appears

appears that an effort has been made to avoid indicating any country as the potential enemy which the two countries have in mind, it is not difficult to surmise the quarter from which Greek and Turkish statesmen do not exclude the possibility of aggression.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMurray.

Enclosure:

1/ - Translation of Remarks of Foreign Minister.

Copy sent to American Legation, Athens.

710

SWW:RFK:mej

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 693 dated June 14, 1938, from the Embassy at Ankara.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: ANKARA, dated June 9, 1938.

"The Turco-Greek Treaty which the Government is submitting for your approval, is a supplement to the previously concluded treaties which are in force, and also a consecration and a natural consequence of the tendencies for cooperation and union which are continuously and consciously developing between the two neighboring and sister nations.

"Everyone knows the import of this additional treaty, because its complete text was first published when it was initialled at the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente at Ankara.

"We signed it, as you know, during the course of the visit which we made to Athens with our President of the Council. On that occasion, the full text again appeared in the press.

"This treaty, the text of which was thus published several times and which contains no annex, either secret or public, other than this text, is not aimed at any other state either far or near and cannot offend anyone whatsoever.

"You know likewise that we have another bilateral treaty with Greece, signed in 1930, concerning neutrality, arbitration and conciliation, as well as a pact of cordial understanding signed in 1933. The principal clause of the latter pact consists in the consecration of the inviolability of the common Turco-Greek frontiers under the guaranty of the two States.

"Well

"Well before its signature, we had informed Bulgaria, our other neighbor, of the pact of cordial understanding, because of the existence between our two countries of a treaty of perpetual friendship and a treaty of neutrality, arbitration and conciliation. After an exchange of views on this subject with Bulgaria, we were satisfied with prolonging the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Neutrality.

"It was also in the course of the same year that, in conformity with the interests of the two countries and in response to the sentiments of friendliness and cordiality which animate the two nations, we resumed with our ally, Yugoslavia, the amicable and sincere contacts which had been begun in 1925 and which had suffered a temporary interruption at that time; and a treaty of sincere friendship was arrived at.

"The same was true of Rumania, our other Balkan ally, with whom we likewise concluded, about this time, a treaty of sincere friendship.

"Thenceforth, the atmosphere in the Balkans changed. The community of interests and the sentiments of Balkan fraternity began to appear in an understanding created after centuries and centuries of experience and suffering of all kinds. The unofficial Balkan conferences which were held here and there from time to time on the initiative of the Greek nation and with the participation of all the Balkan peoples, stimulated and developed these sane and robust sentiments which had just been created. Just at this moment took place the visit of His Excellency Alexander,

the

the great King of Yugoslavia, to our Chief Atatürk. And the interview of these two great Chiefs of State gave a new impetus to the Balkan Entente. Rumania took the lead in this movement.

"Ever since then, the Balkan agreements have been extended; they have assumed an official character and the conferences among the chancelleries of the Balkan States have suddenly gained an accelerated rhythm. The Balkan Pact, as we all well remember, was signed at Athens in the month of February of the year 1934. Since that memorable day, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four allied countries of the Balkan Entente have regularly held periodic meetings and have maintained permanent contact with each other. On the other hand, the Balkan nations, by more and more frequent visits and contacts among the various branches of their economic and artistic life, as well as in other domains, continue to serve as guide to their respective governments.

"The Turco-Greek Treaty, which is the object of our present deliberations, is the symbol of these relations, the maintenance of which is ardently desired among the peoples living on the Balkan Peninsula, and it constitutes an example of the completely natural development of the indissoluble ties which exist among the Balkan allies.

"I beg your High Assembly to discuss in urgent session and to pass the present additional treaty."

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rs

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Ankara, June 23, 1938.

No. 706

Subject: Ratification of Turkish-Greek Treaty.

767.68/741

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 13 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
JUL 14 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

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M. I. S. A.

TREATY DIVISION
File etc
JUL 19 1938
copy C/B
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 693 of June 14, 1938, reporting that the Turkish Grand National Assembly had ratified, on June 1, 1938, the Turkish-Greek Treaty which was signed at Athens on April 27, 1938. The Treaty has now been published in the Turkish OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 3933 of June 14, 1938, along with Law No. 3422 which ratified it. The translation made from an unofficial French version, which was forwarded with this Embassy's despatch No. 558 of March 2, 1938, has been compared with the official Turkish version and has been found to be correct.

770.00/518

FILED
JUL 21 1938

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

710
SWW/rs

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.68 /742

SEE 770.00/579 FOR #796

FROM Turkey (MacMurray) DATED Aug. 23, 1938

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING:

Renunciation in the Salonica agreement of the convention respecting the Thracian frontier which was signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923. Turkish troops entered Edirne (Adrianople) Aug. 20 and it is reported in the press that they were received by the population with appropriate acclaim.

ge

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 867.001 Ataturk, Kamal/79 FOR Despatch #2589

FROM Greece (Shantz) DATED Nov. 28 , 1938.

TO NAME

1—1127 ofo

REGARDING:

Greco-Turkish Alliance: Information concerning possible effect of death of President Ataturk upon -.

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767.68/743

OFFICE CHIEF ... MIL., INTEL. ... RESTRICTED
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED DEC 28 1938 DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE ... DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
File No.

C-2 Report

3600

GREECE (POLITICAL)

Subject: International aspects of current issues and problems.

Interview with Naval Chief of Staff.

767.68

767.68/744

1. The following constitutes a summary of statements made by the Greek Naval Chief of Staff (Admiral SAKELLARIOU) in a private interview with the American M/A in the Admiral's office in Athens on November 18, 1938. The Admiral spoke entirely in the English language. As a matter of continuity, it might be of interest to refer to the Admiral's statements under similar conditions of interview as reported by the M/A in Report No. 4531, April 6, 1938, IG No. 5930.

a. Greece, secure in its close ties with Turkey, took calmly the events of September 1938 that led to the German occupation of the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia in October. After centuries of strife, Greece and Turkey have assured themselves a mutually beneficial future by lasting agreements that are based on an equitable settlement of the vital questions on which they used to be so divided. The Greeks pray that matters continue so and I feel confident that they will, despite the change in government in Turkey in consequence of the death of Kemal Ataturk.

b. Ismet Inonu, the new President of Turkey, is held by many Turks to have been relieved of government office 2 or 3 years ago so as to be free to succeed Ataturk as head of the State in the event of the latter's early demise. According to the proponents of this theory, Ataturk himself arranged this, feeling that he did not have much longer to live.

c. For years, Ismet collaborated so closely and sympathetically with Kemal that it is most unlikely he will do other than continue Kemal's policies.

d. The Turk temperament is sluggish and slow to act. If there is to be any reactionary movement in Turkey it probably could not come to a head for some time to come, even years. Meanwhile, the younger generation, men who were children of 10 when Kemal's measures began to take effect

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16 years ago, are in ever increasing numbers becoming leaders in all walks of life. Ten years from now they will be occupying some of the most important government posts. Imbued as they are with the new order of things their influence will assure continuity thereof, precluding reversion to the old ways. Hope for the future welfare of Greece as well as of Turkey depends on this being so.

e. The statesmen of post-war Europe were not above average. Nationalistic, each saw only to the present and did not build for the future. In effect they brought about through short-sightedness the very thing they tried so ineffectively to oppose: an overpowering Germany.

f. Despite that the German economic penetration of Greece is a fact, it is not a condition that need endure for any longer than the great democracies want it to endure. Greece does not relish the present situation and would welcome a change. It is within the power of England, France, and the United States to reverse the situation easily and at any time. They have only to offer commercial terms as attractive as Germany's, whereupon they will share the Greek markets to the practical exclusion of Germany.

2. The Admiral himself broached the subject of the outlook in Turkey following Kemal's death thus indicating yet again how important to the Greeks are their relations with Turkey and how closely they follow what transpires there. The Admiral's comments on the economic influence of Germany were in response to the A/A's request for the Admiral's opinion in that matter. The Admiral prefaced his reply with the remark that the subject was not in his sphere and that therefore he doesn't know much about it but that it seemed to him that matters were as he then stated them to be. When asked what form he thought "sufficiently attractive commercial terms" should take, he replied that while he realized that a "clearing" system was impracticable for the democracies and while admitting his limitations as an economist he felt that it should nevertheless be possible for an acceptable alternative to be arranged.

3. It is of interest to note that the Admiral's opinion of Europe's post-war statesmen (par. 1 e, above) agrees with that of the German A/A, Belgrade, as reported in Report No. 4600, July 20, 1937, IG No. 3850 (first and last paragraphs of the quoted statements of the German A/A).

Source:
As stated.

E. VILLARET
Lt. Colonel, CAC,
Military Attache.

767.68

767.68/745

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/600 FOR #2824

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Mar. 2, 1939

TO / NAME

1—1127

REGARDING:

Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs visits Athens following visit to Belgrade and meeting of the Council of the Balkan Entente at Bucharest.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 860f.00/813 FOR Despatch #2885

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Mar. 17, 1939

TO NAME

1—1127 ORO

767.68/746

REGARDING: Relations between Greece and Turkey. The Greeks, with little genuine faith in the cohesiveness of the Balkan group are being force to realize, more strongly than ever, the importance to them of their alliance with Turkey.

fp

767.68

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/792 FOR tel #36 midnight

FROM Turkey (MacMurray) DATED Apr.13, 1939
TO NAME

1—1127 OPO

REGARDING: Proposal that Turkey undertake to support Greece against any aggression.

Reports - under consideration by Turkish Cabinet but question must be decided by the Grand National Assembly.

dg

767.68/747

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/825 FOR Tel. #493, 5pm

FROM Great Britain (Kennedy) DATED Apr. 15, 1939

TO

NAME

1—1127 ero

REGARDING: British suggestion for the guarantee of Greece: The Turkish reply to - was to effect Turkey could not commit herself to public reply. However, the importance attached by Turkey to the integrity of Greece has already been manifested by the Greco-Turkish agreement mutually guaranteeing frontiers.

767.68/748

hr

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 771.74/83 FOR Despatch #252.

FROM Bulgaria (Millard) DATED May 18, 1939

TO NAME 1—1127 ••o

REGARDING: Outlet to the Aegean: The Bulgarian Prime Minister interprets the unwillingness of Turkey and Great Britain to consider the granting to Bulgaria of an outlet to the Aegean to mean that Turkey's long range policy is to seize Western Thrace, which is possible as long as it belongs to Greece, but would be difficult if occupied by Bulgaria.

767.68/749

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.67/98 Confidential File FOR Tel. #770, 8pm

FROM Great Britain (Kennedy) DATED June 2, 1939

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING: Draft text of an interim understanding between Britain and Turkey: The - includes, among other things, an agreement that in case of war wherein Britain comes to the assistance of Greece, the Turkish Government is to lend to Greece all aid and assistance in its power; same is true with respect to Rumania.

767.68/750

750

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 15 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RFP
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM Athens

Dated August 14, 1939

Rec'd 7 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 1 5 1939
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

128, August 14, 10 a.m.

On my return to Athens I learn that the permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs left unaccompanied for Ankara Friday night with the most extraordinary secrecy, the fact even now being known to only a handful of people here, including diplomats. The Turkish Charge d'Affaires was not informed beforehand and is still ignorant of the reasons for this move, but believes it was arranged on the initiative of the Greeks and conjectures that they have at last decided to announce at least to the Turkish Government their decision to join the anti-aggression forces in case of hostilities. He states that his Government has been dissatisfied with its ally's reticence and apparent indecisic on this point in the face of its own determined and outspoken attitude.

MACVEAGH

RR:DDM

767.68/751

FILED
AUG 17 1939

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REB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

FROM ATHENS

Dated August 17, 1939

Rec'd 1:30 p. m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AUG 21 1939 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1939 File Copy DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

131, August 17, 3 p. m.

I asked the Prime Minister this morning if he would give me for my Government a confidential statement of Greece's attitude in the present European situation. He said Greece is allied with Turkey and guaranteed by the western powers. It is true he said that Italy has given assurances that she will not attack Greece but he emphasized that this is very different from the British guarantee of protection stating "we are with the western powers both because it is for our own interests and because of our allies". He said Greece is not declaring this fact because she wishes to avoid any possible provocation and because of the present economic power of Germany in this country but that such caution would only be observed so long as peace is maintained. He said the Turks thoroughly understand and are in accord with this policy because any attack on Greece would necessarily involve them also. He said Mr. Mauroudis has gone to Turkey ostensibly "on vacation" but really in order to talk with Ismet and Saradjoglu. "Our relations with the Turks are absolutely of the very best". He estimated that

767.68/752

NM FILED AUG 21 1939

that Greece has now about 80,000 men under arms and said she had not called up the reservists but only men who lacked previous training again for the purpose of avoiding any move that might appear provocative.

In general he said his information is that the Italians do not want to fight and more particularly do not want to fight on the side of Germany. He feels that war is not immediately imminent on account of the Italian attitude, the strength of the western powers and Chamberlain's conciliatory propensities.

MACVEAGH

CSB

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Greek Government is no longer inclined towards military cooperation with Turkey and the Western powers in the event of hostilities but will instead endeavor to remain neutral.

767.68/753

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #148, 7 p.m.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

753

Dated Aug. 22, 1939 From/To Rumania (Gunther)

File No. 740.00/2105

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

mb

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT In recent conversations with the Turks the Under Secretary of the Greek Foreign Office urgently requested that an early understanding be reached concerning the practical aspects of Turkish military assistance.

767.68/754

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #45, 7 p.m.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Aug. 22, 1939 From / To Turkey (MacMurray)

File No. 740.00/2100

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

mb

767.68

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Political - Turkey, Greece.

Present Greco-Turkish defense plans involve releasing major part of Greek forces for stopping (?) by holding over Bulgaria a threat of Turkish attack from Eastern Thrace.

767.68/7755

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#152 4 p m
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Aug. 30 1939 From / To Greece (MacVeagh)

File No. 765.68/231

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

bb

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Turkey - Greece.

Information that since visit of Greek Minister to Istanbul his government is inclined to military cooperation with Turkey and her allies.

767.68/756

756

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel.#164 Noon
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Sept. 1 1939 From Rumania(Gunther)
To

File No. 740.00/2127

740.00

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

bb

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, August 21, 1939.

No. 3309

Subject: Visit of Mr. Mavroudis to Istanbul.

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ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 15 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 128 of August 14, 1939, concerning the sudden and astonishingly secret departure for Turkey of Mr. Mavroudis, Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The first news the Legation had of this affair, which finds no parallel in all my six years' experience here, came from Dr. B. T. Şaman, the Turkish Chargé, who told Mr. Kohler of this Legation on Friday night, August 11th, that he had learned only that day, from his own sources of information, that Mr. Mavroudis was going

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going that night to "Ankara" (as reported in my telegram under reference; actually, of course, he meant "Istanbul"). Dr. Şaman said he had no information further than the bare fact and that he thought practically no one else in Athens knew even that. This suspicion was confirmed by Mr. Kohler's own subsequent researches, and the Greek press was completely silent on the matter until the following Tuesday morning, when a brief squib announced that Mr. Mavroudis had gone "on vacation". Not even the gossipy reporters who frequent the Legation, not to speak of the Editor of the PROIA who called on me immediately on my return, breathed a word in the interval to show that they were cognizant.

I arrived in Athens late Saturday night, and on being informed by Mr. Kohler of what seemed to be going on, requested him to renew his efforts to obtain some possible confirmation. This resulted in an admission from Mr. Pindar Androulis, Chef de Cabinet of the Premier, that Mr. Mavroudis was "away for a few days", but no information as to where he had gone or why. However, the same afternoon, Mr. Kohler again had a talk with Dr. Şaman, who, though he still had no official information, reiterated that he knew positively that Mr. Mavroudis had gone to Istanbul on the Rumanian boat on Friday night. He said that in order to check the tip he had received on Friday, he had that afternoon called the Foreign Office, and, assuming that Mr. Mavroudis was about to go, requested an appointment to bid him au revoir and bon voyage. Mr. Mavroudis' Chef de Cabinet apologized profusely, but begged that the Under Secretary be excused, as he was just leaving the Foreign Office to go home and pack his

bags.

bags. The Chef de Cabinet, Mr. Papadopoulos, added that no one, not even he himself was going to the boat, and requested the Turkish Chargé likewise not to do so, because Mr. Mavroudis wanted his departure to be unknown. The Under Secretary appears to have been accompanied by Madam Mavroudis, but no staff. Several days later we learned that the Turkish Press had noted his arrival with a fanfare of headlines and photographs.

In considering the reasons for this extraordinary trip, Dr. Şaman could see only three possibilities: that it was just a vacation; that it was undertaken on the invitation of the Turkish Government; or that it was purely an initiative of the Greek Government. The first of these possibilities he quickly ruled out, "because now is no time for the Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be absent", and because "Mr. Mavroudis hasn't taken a vacation outside of Greece in centuries". The second he likewise ruled out on the ground that the Turkish Embassy here would have submitted the invitation or would certainly have been informed. "Furthermore", he said, "our position is clear. We do not have to solicit these countries. Our position is strong and definite, and it is up to them to come to us." Consequently he was convinced that Mr. Mavroudis' voyage had been undertaken purely on the initiative of the Greek Government. While he was of the opinion that the Greeks had no choice but to go with the democratic "Peace Front", he did not feel entirely sure that they were not capable of a "double jeu". He said that the Turks had been dissatisfied with Greek reticence and what they regarded as excessive caution, and felt that it was high time the Greeks declared themselves

selves plainly, to their Turkish allies, at least. He believed that the reason for the trip must therefore be that they had at last decided to make such a clear declaration to his Government of their position and intentions.

In this connection, I have myself talked with the British Minister, the Yugoslav Minister, and Mr. Metaxas, the Greek Prime Minister. The latter admitted (see my telegram No. 131 of August 17, 3 p.m.) that Mr. Mavroudis had gone "on vacation" to talk with the Turkish President and Minister for Foreign Affairs, but gave no explicit indication of the subject to be discussed. The two former agreed that the Turks have been critical of both Greece and Yugoslavia for not clearly declaring themselves anti-axis in the present situation, but Mr. Metaxas insisted that Turkey thoroughly understands present Greek caution and even applauds it. These contradictory statements may be reconciled if we suppose that Mr. Mavroudis went to Istanbul to satisfy Turkish doubts and that Mr. Metaxas had either received word of his success, when he talked with me, or was counting on it in advance.

I also, however, telegraphed the Ambassador in Istanbul, and his reply throws another light on the matter. I quote from Mr. MacMurray's telegram of August 18, 4 p.m.: "Information thus far available indicates that Greek Government has for some reason become particularly apprehensive of an attack and is desirous of reassuring itself with regard to Turkish support." This may dovetail with a somewhat cryptic remark of Mr. Metaxas in his conversation with me, "Les Italiens sont uh peu refroidis à notre égard à présent, et les Allemands, comme çi, comme ça,"

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(The Italians are somewhat cold to us at present, and the Germans so-so), with a wide gesture of the hands. As far as is known to the Legation, the Turco-Greek accords do not bind Turkey to come to the assistance of Greece if she is attacked from the West, but only if she is attacked in Thrace or from the East (see my despatch No. 2142 of March 5, 1938). On the other hand an attack by Italy would bring England in at once, and consequently Turkey as well, through her alliance with England. That Greece would have "Turkish support" is therefore clear enough. But the extent and nature of this support, particularly at the outset, may easily have seemed to Mr. Metaxas something worth settling at the favorable opportunity presented by the joint presence of Ismet and Saradjoglu (and incidentally the Army Chiefs) at Istanbul.

Mr. Mavroudis is now on his way back. The reason for keeping his departure so secret here would seem to have been the desire not to excite apprehension. The Department will remember the secrecy of the negotiations prior to the obtaining of the British guarantee (see my despatch No. 2960 of April 10, 1939), when the Government was deeply alarmed and the people knew nothing of it. I am inclined to think that this time there has been no such acute official dismay, on the basis of my talk with Mr. Metaxas, and the fact that the King of Greece is still in Corfu. But that the general situation in Europe stimulated the Greeks to cement further their ties with Turkey seems more than likely.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Copy to Istanbul.
File No. 800.
FDK/LMacV/pe

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, August 21, 1939.

No. 3331.

Subject: Conversation with the Greek Premier on the International Situation and Greek Military Preparations.

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ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 15 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.68/758

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

767.68/752

Confirming my telegram No. 131 of August 17, 3 p.m., I have the honor to report that, following my return from leave in the United States I obtained on Thursday, August 16th, an interview with the Prime Minister, Mr. Metaxas, and took the opportunity of asking him whether he would define, confidentially for my Government, the attitude of Greece in the present international crisis. His reply added nothing to the understanding of the situation already formed by this Legation and frequently expressed in despatches, but it offered such authoritative, and as it were textual, confirmation, that it would seem

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to have ruled out once for all any possibility of doubt as to Greece's position.

Mr. Metaxas received me with great cordiality. He appeared desirous of talking about America, and plied me with questions about our Constitution, the relationship between the Executive and Congress, and similar matters, and begged me to explain to him in a few words the difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties! I have no doubt that his curiosity had been aroused by recent reports of differences of opinion at home regarding the Neutrality Law and other questions, as well as the approaching Presidential campaign. I kept my replies both academic and elementary, and then, as if prompted by his mood of genial intimacy, put the request I had in mind as a kind of quid pro quo in our exchange of news.

As reported in my telegram under reference, Mr. Metaxas explained what we already know about the assurances of Italy to respect Greek territorial integrity, the guarantee of England to protect Greece if attacked (he mentioned France, too, in this connection, apparently because France and England are acting at present in concert), and the Greco-Turkish Alliance. For the first time in our talks about the international situation, which now total a goodly number, he made no mention or even reference to the Balkan Entente. He said, "We are with the Western Powers." I said, "Because of your alliance with Turkey", but he took me up at once. Wagging a finger at me, he said, "No. We are with the Western Powers, because of our own interests first, and then because of our alliances." In regard to Italy's assurances, he smilingly pointed out that these constitute "a very different thing" from

Britain's

Britain's guarantee. He added that Greece cannot afford to make her policy explicit because of the danger of provoking Italian attack and because of the grip which Germany has on Greece's economy. Here he shook his head sadly and said that Italy is "cold" toward Greece at present and the attitude of Germany not too friendly (see my despatch No. 3309 of August 21, 1939).

Remembering certain remarks of my Turkish, British and Yugoslav colleagues, reported in my despatch just referred to, I then asked Mr. Metaxas whether the Turks are feeling that the Greeks should nevertheless make their attitude known, and he replied with emphasis that they realize and sympathize with Greece's position and are even concerned that she should not go too far in antagonizing the Axis, since an attack on her would inevitably involve them too. He added at this point that "our relations with the Turks are absolutely of the very best". I asked him for what reason Mr. Mavroudis went to Istanbul, and he replied that he "went on vacation"--with a sly smile--"to see the Turkish President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs." It was clear that whether this move was made to satisfy the Turks as to the Greek attitude, or to satisfy the Greeks of efficient Turkish support in case of attack, Mr. Metaxas was happy at having made it. He concluded this part of our conversation with the statement that "Our caution in regard to not offending the Axis powers will last just as long as peace is preserved, no longer."

As reported in my telegram under reference, Mr. Metaxas then discussed the European situation more generally, and gave it as his opinion that there is no immediate

danger

danger of war. He based this on Italy's reluctance to engage at all, and particularly to engage on Germany's side, and on the increased strength of the Western Allies, together with Mr. Chamberlain's well-known peaceful propensities. In this connection, I may say that Mr. Metaxas has not shown himself to be much of a prophet in the past, having made erroneous predictions to me on the eve both of Munich and of Prague (see my despatch No. 2824 of March 2, 1939), but his opinion is at least that of the head of the Greek Government, and, together with the fact that the King remains in Corfu, would appear, as pointed out in my despatch No. 3309 of August 21, 1939, above referred to, to contravene rumors reported from Istanbul that the Greek Government has recently been panic-stricken for fear of an immediate attack by Italy.

Because of statements made to me by the Greek Consul General in New York, and by the Editor of the Greek-American newspaper, "Atlantis", to the effect that Greece has now some two hundred thousand men under arms, I inquired of Mr. Metaxas on this point, and received in reply an estimate of about eighty thousand. He said he had carefully avoided any general calling-up of reserves, but had summoned in addition to the usual year's recruits, only those who had in the past, for one reason or another, escaped military training. "You may understand the reasons for this", he said. "Anything like a general mobilization might be misconstrued and regarded as provocative at this time." He omitted to mention the fact that recruits who have been undergoing training for some time and are now over-due to return to civil life are still under arms. But, with appropriate lamentations

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over the cost, he emphasized that Greece is serious in her preparations, and closed our talk on a high emotional note, stressing that "you will see, if Greece is attacked, that she will defend her independence to the last man."

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Copy to American Embassy, Istanbul.

File No. 800.

LMacV/pe

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Greece not declaring neutrality because it is not necessary in the circumstances and also because she wishes to keep in line with Turkey.

mr

767.68/759

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. #165, 3 p.m.
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Sept. 12, 1939 From/To Greece (MacVeagh)

File No. 740.00111 European War, 1939/124

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT Relations between Turkey and Greece.

Conversation of Mr MacVeagh with Mr Mavroudis, Greek Under Minister for Foreign Affairs, regarding -.

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767.68/760

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See despatch # 3357
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Aug. 28, 1939 From / To Greece (MacVeagh)

File No. 761.6211/202.

760

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1—1540

767

CROSS-REFERENCE FILE

NOTE

SUBJECT

Turkish-Greek relations. Greek Government is considering detailed Rumanian proposals for a neutral Balkan bloc, including Italy and Hungary. The Premier is deferring his reply pending outcome of consultation with Turkey.

767.68/761

For the original paper from which reference is taken

See Tel. 243- 10am
(Despatch, telegram, instruction, letter, etc.)

Dated Nov. 10,1939 From/To Greece (MacVeagh)

File No. 770.00/659

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Central File: Decimal File 767.68, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Turkey And Greece, Jan. 15, 1930 - Nov. 10, 1939. January 15, 1930 - November 10, 1939. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111386567%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 21 June 2025.